

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /136 W
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R 161531Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7136

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 00693

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, RH

SUBJECT: CURRENT STATUS OF SMITH-MUZOREWA NEGOTIATIONS

SUMMARY: A "GUARDIAN" REPORT FROM SALISBURY WHICH QUOTES BISHOP MUZOREWA AS INDICATING THAT HE AND IAN SMITH WERE ON THE VERGE OF AGREEMENT HAS BEEN DENIED BY ANC'S LONDON REPRESENTATIVE. ACCORDING TO LATTER, MUZOREWA IS NOT EMPOWERED TO NEGOTIATE ANY AGREEMENT IN NAME OF ANC. RECENT TALKS HAVE BEEN CONCERNED SOLELY WITH QUESTION OF ANC'S DESIRE TO HOLD OPEN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AT WHICH AFRICANS CAN AIR THEIR SPECIFIC DISAGREEMENTS WITH 1971 CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS. ACCOUNT OF SMITH-MUZOREWA TALKS GIVEN BY ANC REPRESENTATIVE DOES NOT ACCORD WITH VERSION WE HAVE HAD FROM OTHER SOURCES BUT ALL QUALIFIED LONDON OBSERVERS SEEM TO AGREE THAT TWO SIDES ARE PROBABLY STILL FAR APART. END SUMMARY

1. "THE GUARDIAN" OF JANUARY 14 PUBLISHED A REPORT FROM CORRESPONDENT HENRY MILLER DATELINED SALISBURY, JANUARY 13, SAYING THAT SPECULATION WAS MOUNTING THAT
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IAN SMITH AND BISHOP MUZOREWA WERE ON THE VERGE OF AN

AGREEMENT ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. THE BISHOP WAS QUOTED AS SAYING ON JANUARY 13, "WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY AND WE ARE READY TO MEET MR. SMITH HALF WAY." BISHOP ADDED THAT ANY AGREEMENT DEPENDED ON MR. SMITH'S "GOOD WILL" AND HINTED THAT AN AGREEMENT COULD COME SOON.

2. ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY THAT CONTINUATION OF TALKS HAS EARNED MUZOREWA CRITICISM FROM WITHIN ANC RANKS, PARTICULARLY FROM THE MORE VOLATILE MATABELELAND ELEMENTS IN THE SOUTH WHO WANTED TALKS ENDED. IT ALSO NOTED THAT UP UNTIL NOW THE BISHOP HAS ACCEDED TO MR. SMITH'S REQUEST FOR SECRECY REGARDING WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED BETWEEN THEM. A FINAL PARAGRAPH REPORTED THAT EDSON SITHOLE, ANC PUBLICITY SECRETARY, HAS DENIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY PROGRESS IN THE TALKS.

3. EMBOFF DISCUSSED MILLER'S REPORT WITH ISHMAEL MLAMBO, LONDON ANC REPRESENTATIVE, AT LUNCH JANUARY 15. MLAMBO SAID HE HAD TELEPHONED MUZOREWA PREVIOUS DAY TO DETERMINE IF REPORT WAS ACCURATE. MUZOREWA SAID THAT IF HE HAD BEEN QUOTED AS HAVING SAID ANYTHING AT ALL WITHIN THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS TALKS WITH SMITH, IT WAS SHEER FABRICATION. HE TOLD MLAMBO THAT HE HAD NOT SPOKEN TO ANY MEMBER OF THE PRESS FOLLOWING HIS MOST RECENT MEETING WITH SMITH WHICH LEFT THEM "A MILLION MILES APART." MLAMBO SAID HE PASSED MUZOREWA'S POSITION TO "THE GUARDIAN" BUT THERE WAS NO MENTION OF THE SUBJECT IN THE JANUARY 15 ISSUE.

4. MLAMBO, WHO IS A COMPARATIVE HARD-LINER, GAVE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT VERSION OF THE SMITH-MUZOREWA TALKS FROM ONE WE HAD HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES. HE SAID THAT AT THEIR FIRST MEETING ON JULY 23, 1973, SMITH SPENT ENTIRE TIME BERATING THE BISHOP FOR HIS ROLE IN BLOCKING A SETTLEMENT IN 1972. NEVERTHELESS, THEY AGREED TO MEET AGAIN. ACCORDING TO MLAMBO, THERE WERE NO MORE SIGNIFICANT MEETINGS BETWEEN THE TWO UNTIL NOVEMBER. MEETINGS ALSO TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER, BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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MLAMBO SAID HE HAD NOT RECEIVED REPORTS ON THESE AS YET. MLAMBO STATED FIRMLY THAT MUZOREWA IS NOT EMPOWERED TO MAKE ANY AGREEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE ANC. THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF HIS WORKING OUT AN AGREEMENT WITH SMITH ON THE BASIS OF MODIFICATIONS TO THE 1971 CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AS SOME REPORTS WOULD HAVE IT. THE ANC EFFORT IS DIRECTED ENTIRELY TOWARD GETTING SMITH TO AGREE TO HAVING AN OPEN FORUM AT WHICH AFRICAN VIEWS ON

WHY THEY SAID NO TO THE 1971 CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS
COULD BE AIRED, FOLLOWING WHICH ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE
MADE FOR A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

5. MLAMBO THOUGHT THAT IF SMITH CAME CLOSE TO AGREEING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 00693

TO ANC DEMANDS, HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY FALL FROM POWER,
AS HAPPENED TO ALL PRE-UDI RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTERS
WHEN THEY AGREED TO TALK OPENLY WITH AFRICANS. IT
MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE ANC TO TREAT WITH A REASONABLY
LIBERAL WHITE REGIME WHICH CAME TO POWER AFTER SMITH'S
DEPARTURE (E.G., ONE DOMINATED BY THE RHODESIA PARTY),
BUT NO AGREEMENT WOULD BE SATISFACTORY IF IT PERMITTED
WHITES TO REMAIN IN CONTROL FOR AN UNSPECIFIED PERIOD
OF TIME. AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD SET A TIMETABLE FOR
REACHING THE "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" STAGE WOULD BE
ACCEPTABLE TO MOST RHODESIAN AFRICANS EVEN IF IT MEANT
CONTINUATION OF A WHITE-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT FOR SOME
TIME, MLAMBO SAID. HOWEVER, HE PERSONALLY WOULD

OPPOSE SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

6. ONE DANGER WHICH THE ANC SEES TO ITS POSITION AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE AFRICAN POPULATION IS THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY ZANU. THE CHIEF SUCCESS OF THE GUERRILLA OPERATIONS, MLAMBO SAID, DERIVES FROM THE EFFECT THAT THE STATE OF EMER-
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GENCY HAS HAD ON THE WILLINGNESS OF YOUNG WHITE RHODESIANS TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA IN THE FACE OF CONSCRIPTION. MILITANT ELEMENTS AMONG THE AFRICANS BELIEVE THAT THE CONTINUING EXODUS OF YOUNG WHITES WILL BRING DOWN THE WHITE REGIME IN THE END. THEREFORE, THEY WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN THEIR MAXIMUM DEMANDS.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT MLAMBO'S VERSION OF WHAT IS GOING ON ACCORDS WITH THE FACTS. BOTH HE AND HIS ASSISTANT, JUDITH TODD, HAVE BEEN QUICK TO OFFER DENIALS EACH TIME THERE IS A REPORT THAT THE SMITH-MUZOREWA CONTACTS ARE LEADING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BLACK POPULATION. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE ANC, IN VIEW OF ITS POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE MILITANTS, TO DAMPEN SPECULATION THAT THE BISHOP WAS MAKING CONCESSIONS FOR THE SAKE OF AN AGREEMENT. ACCOUNTS OF WHAT IS GOING ON MAY VARY, BUT MOST QUALIFIED OBSERVERS IN LONDON SEEM TO AGREE THAT THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IS PROBABLY STILL WIDE.
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